1:Takakura , H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

Ezo to farm; that they barred the Ezo from using straw sandals and straw hats and that if any Ezo did any of the above he would be accused by an interpreter and punished for the same. However, the above cited were not the generally accepted regulations of the Matsumae. While the *Ezo Sōshi* tells us that, "By law it was forbidden to send seed to the Ezo," there do exist records showing that the Ezo living from Tokachi on the east coast to Ishikari on the west coast had a knowledge of primitive agriculture and that the Matsumae clan itself, perhaps in preparation for famine, a not uncommon event in those days, ordered in May of 1716 that cereals be grown in Ezo. In reference to the ban on the use of the Japanese language both written and spoken we refer again to *Ezo Sōshi:* "From early times it was forbidden to teach the Ezo how to read or write or speak Japanese. Since I broke this rule it was but natural that I was frowned upon by the Matsumae." However, Mogami Tokunai exaggerates this point because there was no such rule set by the Matsumae. During the latter part of this period and according to records made by travelers, there were many Ezo in the vicinity of Matsumae who understood Japanese and even some who could read and write it.

The prohibition against straw hats and sandals has to be considered in the light of changing Ezo customs. There is no evidence that there existed any "Family law of the Matsumae" on this matter.[53] The Ezo themselves preferred not to change their habits and traditions. Their reluctance to do so is shown by their bitter opposition in later years when the Bakufu in an attempt to assimilate them in the shortest possible time attempted to Japanize by fiat. The Ezo had their own set of rules on clothing as set down in the *Hokusui Taimon*, "They had rules not to wear anything on their feet, not to bathe or to bind their knees."

I am therefore not of the opinion that in those days the Matsumae had a calculated policy of suppression although as Japanese power grew their attitude toward the Ezo did become oppressive. I hold that the method of government in those days was to allow self-government by the Ezo in accordance with native custom. This was most probably because Hokkaidō was still in large measure a commercial colony and there was no need to organize the natives and thereby take the risk of losing markets for the sake of political control. It was more profitable to leave the natives in a state of nature so that merchants fully exploited this situation. Many of the oppressive acts recorded as being rules of the Matsumae were, in actuality, regulations set up by merchant contractors for their own benefit. The fault of the Matsumae was that they winked at these actions.

3. THE ABUSES OF THE *BASHO* CONTRACTING SYSTEM AND THE "INCIDENT" OF 1789

The *Basho* system had characteristics similar to those chartered colonial companies which played such an im-

[53] *Hokuto Sanjin Monogatari.*

and were not even paid for their labor.[65] Although the Ezo were able to support themselves while working, those living in the mountains could not expect to feed themselves from these wages during the period they were traveling to and from their homes. Furthermore, since they had no free time in which to produce anything for themselves, they were unable to trade for goods which they needed, and, still worse, being unable to store provisions for the winter, they were always on the verge of starvation.[66] The ways in which they were used as laborers were also cruel. This can be seen in the report made to the expeditionary force by the *Kozukai* Shimochi on the causes of the 1789 revolt.

> When the wife of Chief Shibetsu declined to work in pressing oil some of the guards beat her with wood logs which caused her to fall ill and later die. . . . The guards said that if any Ezo refused to work they would all be killed. At the same time a dog was tied up with a rope and drowned in a river. Thus Ezo imagined that their lives were actually in danger. [This was an incident in the Menashi region.]

Thus, the contractors made profit at the expense of the Ezo's interests; restricted the natives in various ways in order to exploit them and attempted to keep these people under their sole control. First of all, the Ezo freedom of trade was restricted for, in order to preserve his monopoly right in his *Basho,* the contractor forbade his Ezo to go anywhere else for trade or indeed to engage in trade with any other mainlander. The Ezo were thus bound to trade at one post. Secondly, in many *Basho* the Ainu were forbidden to speak Japanese or to learn how to write and in all dealings conversation was carried on through an interpreter. To leave the Ezo ignorant was to the advantage of the contractor. Third, there were many *Basho* in which agriculture was not permitted. The *Watarishima Hikki* says:

> The purpose was to make fishing the main activity. It was more profitable to concentrate on fishing. It was possible to obtain salt from sea water or grain from seed. But such items were in sufficient production on the mainland. If silk worms were raised and hemp planted what would there be to bring from the mainland in exchange?

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[65] "We have been working since last year making salmon oil cakes and have been obliged to continue working until the season of the snows sets in and yet since our employers have not paid us at all we are in great difficulties." (Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.)

[66] "Everyday we would be summoned to work at the post making it impossible to work for ourselves and since we had no goods to offer in return we were unable to accept gifts. We have been making salmon oil cakes since last year and have no supplies stored for the winter. There is nothing we can do but stand by and watch our wives and children starve." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

"Since we are working for others and have no time to store food for ourselves during the winter there are many who starve to death during that period." (Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.)

Mogami Tokunai, Ezojin toriatsukai kata no gi ni tusku kengi (A proposal concerning the treatment of Ezo) in *Chigaku Zasshi,* No. 276: 901–902.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

could make out my surroundings clearly enough. There was an old man, perfectly naked, with a fine head, long white hair and beard, sitting on the ground among a mass of sea-weeds, which he was disentangling and packing. Two young women and two young men, with bright, intelligent eyes and high cheek-bones, were helping him in his work. In their quiet, gentle way they all brought their hands forward, each rubbed the palms together, and, lifting the arms, slowly stroked their hair, and the men their beard with the backs of their hands, while the women rubbed the first finger under the nose from the left to the right. This is their salutation, and it is most graceful. They seemed pleased to see me, and asked me to sit down. As there were neither chairs nor sofas, stools nor cushions, I squatted on the ground.

AINU WOMAN SALUTING.

Most Ainu of Volcano Bay understand Japanese, and they also speak it, interpolating Ainu words when necessary, so I began a conversation. My presence did not seem to disturb them or arouse their curiosity, and, beyond gazing at the mother-of-pearl buttons on my white coat, they did not appear to be struck by me. Evidently the buttons were much more interesting to them than the person who wore them. Now and then they uttered a few words, but whenever one spoke some of the company seemed to be angry, as at an impertinence or a breach of etiquette. Men and women wore large ear-rings or pieces of red or black cloth, which added a great deal to their picturesqueness ; but the women were disfigured by a long moustache tattooed across the face from ear to ear. Rough drawings adorn the arms and hands of the women, and some of the younger females would undoubtedly be fine-looking if not disfigured by the tattoos, for they carry themselves well when walking, and possess comely features. Judging from appearances, I should think them very passionate.

Coming out of the hut I saw a scene which I shall never forget. Two naked boys, covered with horrible skin eruptions, had got hold of a large fish-bone, out of which they

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

or three Russian religious images. Taken altogether, and compared with other Ainu huts, Jacko's chapel had quite a stately appearance.

Just as the Ainu of Yezo have partly acquired the Japanese language, the Kurilsky Ainu have learned to talk Russian, besides speaking an Ainu dialect.

On Sundays, or on any day which Jacko thinks is a Sunday, the chief reads the mass before a congregation of the other fifty-nine hairy Christians of the Russian Orthodox Church; he does not spare them a sermon, which sometimes lasts half the day, and his audience are most attentive and well behaved. None of them would think of leaving church before service is over; but one detail in which these hairy Christians are not yet fully Christianised is, that no collection plate is ever sent round! The Kurilsky Ainu have undoubtedly accepted the form of their adopted religion, but I rather doubt whether they have fallen in with the principle. Their former barbarian ideas and superstitions are still well rooted in their brain, and each individual was a curious and enviable combination of a perfect heathen and a thorough Christian, according to what suited him or her better at the time being. In other words, they believed in two diametrically opposed principles, one of which fitted in with every phase of their life when the other was deficient.

As many as ninety people, all told, were landed at Shikotan, but thirty had already succumbed when I visited the island. A graveyard on a hill on the west side of the village was indeed a sad reminder of this fact. It will not be long before all the others will pass away, for consumption and rheumatism have a great hold on most of the wretches. In ten years from now, I dare say, not one of the Kurilsky tribe of Ainu will be left on this earth. It is pitiful that the last remains of these independent people will end their days secluded and in exile on the barren rocks of Shikotan.

As it is, they seem to take life easily, and, with a characteristic proper to all nomadic peoples, they make the best of what they can get. They are not shy, and they have dropped the formalities and grand salutations of other Ainu. They are, however, as dirty, especially in their homes. The women dress their hair in small tresses.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

when the poor beast has been sufficiently tortured, pricked with pointed sticks, shot at with blunted arrows, bruised with stones, maddened with rage and ill-usage, it is killed outright, and, "ancestor" as it may be, it makes the chief dish and *raison d'être* of a festival, where all the members of the tribe partake of its flesh. The owner of the hut in which the feast takes place then sticks the skull on to a forked pole, and sets it outside with the others at the east end of his hut. The skin is made into garments, or is spread on the ground to sleep on.

In addition to this rudimentary kind of Totemism—if I may call it so—the Ainu show a certain amount of fear and respect for anything which supports their life or can destroy it. This, however, is under the form of an "instinct" rather than a "religious feeling." Dumb animals of any kind are similarly affected by powers which they cannot explain; but as we would not think for a moment that when a dog is barking at the moon the dog is worshipping the orb of night, or when it basks in the sun that it is offering prayers and reverence to the orb of day, no more should we think that the Ainu, who are not much above dumb animals, worship all they respect and fear.

If other writers, most of whom have never visited the Ainu country, had not written on this subject, I would have limited myself to saying that the Ainu, properly speaking, have no religion, but as certain untenable theories and false ideas have been published, I feel bound to state what I know on the subject, that, so far as I can, I may correct these erroneous impressions. I regard myself as qualified to speak with some authority, as I am the *only* foreigner who has seen and studied *all* the different tribes of Ainu in Yezo and the Kuriles; while other writers, the few who have actually been there, have based their statements on a few half-castes or Ainu in the more civilised part of southern Yezo, collecting from them ideas left behind by previous travellers, and offering them to the public as purely Ainu. That these hasty travellers and cursory writers have been deceived, or have deceived themselves, is not astonishing; for it must be borne in mind that the Ainu language is as poor in words as the Ainu brain is deficient in thoughts. Thus it is no easy matter to explain to an Ainu what is meant by "religion," by "divinities," and by

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia
AINU AB6
TUNGUS RU5
KORYAKS R44

A 208 691 871

Sakhalin which was entrusted, among other things, with 'raising the cultural and living standard of its native population', the Ainu in particular.[48]

208 191

Three years after the establishment of Soviet sovereignty over Karafuto Russian propaganda claimed that 'a revival of the ancient, original culture of the Ainu people' was noticeable, and that an 'Ainu national literary language' was in the process of being created.[49]

THE 'NATIONAL AREAS' OF THE EVENI AND KORYAKS

T 634 101 131 K 634 101 131

In 1930 three 'National Areas' were founded in the Far Eastern Territory, one for the Eveni (Lamuts), one for the Koryaks, and one for the Chukchi. The last two are still in existence, but the 'National Area' of the Eveni – Okhotsko-Evensky National Area was the official name – was disbanded after four years. It is doubtful whether the Eveni National Area, which covered 400,000 square miles, ever existed except on paper. The Eveni as a nomad people were not prepared to accept the notion of a territory with stable frontiers and a permanently fixed cultural and political centre. The attempt to erect such a centre, first in Okhotsk, later in Nogayevo, failed.[50] The National Area of the Eveni was formally abolished as a result of the progress which Russian colonization by convicts had made around the Okhotsk Sea in the early 'thirties'. By 1934 the proportion of natives in the population of the National Area had dropped to 40 per cent as against 80 per cent shortly before its foundation.

T K [167] T K [162]

T 634 101 131 161 K 634 101 131 161

The Koryak National Area has been able to survive because the Soviet authorities have not yet succeeded in fully exploiting its riches, and have not, up to now, swamped the area with convicts and other settlers. The Koryak National Area covers the northern part of the Kamchatka peninsula, and the adjacent part of the Asiatic mainland. It is 125,000 square miles in area, and had 11,400 inhabitants in 1926. Out of this total, 61 per cent were then Koryaks, 8·9 per cent Chukchi, 7·1 per cent Kamchadals, and 5·5 per cent Eveni. The Russians accounted for 14·3 per cent.

T 433 634 K 433 634

The leading Soviet expert on the arctic and sub-arctic regions of the Soviet Far East, M. A. Sergeev, considers that the Koryak National Area is, politically and economically, one of the most important parts of North East Asia, in view of its close proximity to Japan and the U.S.A. Sergeev, who wrote the only available monograph on the Koryak National Area, pointed out that the Area had a considerable part to play in Russian foreign trade, and that it could develop into a territory earning for the whole Soviet Union an appreciable amount of foreign currency.[51] Among the economic assets of the National Area Sergeev lists its riches in fish, reindeer and fur animals, as well as gold and oil. All these items should be used for export, whereas the chief importance